

# FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

Chron Folder for February 1999 [1]

Staff Office-Individual:

Kosovo Office-Schulte, Gregory

Original OA/ID Number:

1705

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# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Summary of Conclusions for Meeting of the NSC Deputies Committee, January 26, 1999. [Record ID: 9900535] [partial] (1 page)	02/04/1999	P3/b(3)

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Kosovo Office (Schulte, Gregory)  
OA/Box Number: 1706

### FOLDER TITLE:

Chron Folder for February 1999 [1]

2008-0994-F

vz6268

### RESTRICTION CODES

#### Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

#### Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]



CHRONS FOR FEBRUARY, 1999

LOG NUMBER

SUBJECT

NON-LOG	CANCELLATION OF KOSOVO EXCOMM MEETING
NON-LOG	KOSOVO EXCOMM MEETING -- FEB 9
NON-LOG	KOSOVO EXCOMM MEETING -- FEB 12
NON-LOG	SMALL GROUP MEETING -- FEB 19
0221	POTUS REPLY TO SENATOR BOB DOLE'S REPORT ON PROGRESS OF ICMP
0495	POTUS REPLY TO LETTER FROM REP. TRAFICANT CONCERNING SITUATION IN KOSOVO
0535	SOC FOR DC MEETING ON KOSOVO -- JAN. 26
0590	BRIEFING MEMO FOR FEB 1 FORN POLICY TEAM MTG.
0641	POTUS REPLY TO REP. BONIOR LETTER URGING NATO TO BEGIN AIR STRIKES AGAINST SERBIAN TARGETS
0642	POTUS REPLY TO REP. ENGEL, ET AL. ON KOSOVO
0657	SOC FOR DC MEETING ON KOSOVO -- FEB 1
0688	TRAVEL REQUEST FOR GS TO PARIS AND RAMBOUILLET
0734	SOC. FOR DC MEETING ON KOSOVO -- FEB. 3
0751	BRIEFING MEMO FOR MEETING WITH THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA PM DODIK -- FEB 5
0832	POTUS RESPONSE TO LETTER FROM SENATOR LOTT ON KOSOVO
0832 REDO	POTUS RESPONSE TO LETTER FROM SENATOR LOTT ON KOSOVO
0847	SOC FOR DC MEETING ON KOSOVO -- FEB 7
0847 REDO	SOC FOR DC MEETING ON KOSOVO -- FEB 7
0889	SCHEDULE PROPOSAL FOR FOREIGN POLICY TEAM MEETING ON KOSOVO -- FEB 10

0899	SOC FOR DC MEETING ON KOSOVO -- FEB 8
0917	KOSOVO: UPDATE ON US PLANNING
0943	WAIVER OF STATUTORY PROHIBITION ON ASSISTANT TO MONTENEGRO
0951	SOC FOR DC MEETING ON KOSOVO -- FEB 9
0952	BRIEFING MEMO FOR POTUS FOREIGN POLICY TEAM MEETING ON KOSOVO -- FEB 11
1029	POTUS RECOMMEND TELCON CALL TO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ON FEB 13
1059	SOC FOR DC MEETING ON KOSOVO -- FEB 12
1060	SOC FOR DC MEETING ON KOSOVO -- FEB 15
1127	SOC FOR DC MEETING ON KOSOVO -- FEB 17
1133	Message to Congress on Kosovo -- ON HOLD
1220	POTUS Telephone Call with Hashim Thaqi
1230	SOC FOR DC MEETING ON KOSOVO -- FEB 19
1243	SOC FOR DC MEETING ON KOSOVO -- FEB 20
1253	NOTIFICATION AND AGENDA FOR FEB 25 DC MTG ON BRCKO
1247	POTUS MEETING WITH CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS -- 2/23

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

February 4, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR

JAMES PARDEW  
Department of State

ALAN ROMBERG  
USUN

ROBERT BEECROFT  
Department of State

JOHN BURNIM  
Office of Management and  
Budget

WILLIAM BROWNFIELD  
Department of State

MARK MILLER  
Central Intelligence Agency

LESLIE GERSON  
Department of State

DAVID EVERETT  
Central Intelligence Agency

MARGUERITE HOUZE  
Department of State

FREDERICK BARTON  
Agency for International  
Development

BERND MCCONNELL  
Office of the Secretary of  
Defense

PETER KOVACS  
U.S. Information Agency

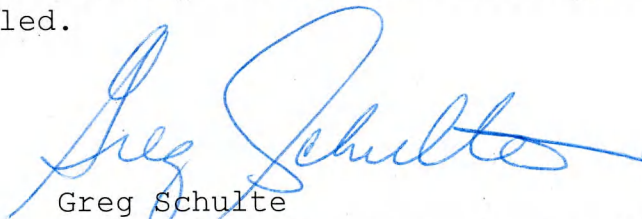
JAMES SCHEAR  
Office of the Secretary of  
Defense

LESLIE DAVIDSON  
Office of the Vice President

GEORGE CASEY  
Joint Chiefs of Staff

SUBJECT: Cancellation of Kosovo ExComm Meeting

The Kosovo ExComm meeting scheduled for Friday, February 5, 1999 has been cancelled.



Greg Schulte  
Special Assistant to the President  
for the Implementation of the Dayton Accords

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

February 8, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR

JAMES PARDEW  
Department of State

GEORGE CASEY  
Joint Chiefs of Staff

ROBERT BEECROFT  
Department of State

CAMERON LEUTHY  
Office of Management and  
Budget

ALAN ROMBERG  
Department of State

MARK MILLER  
Central Intelligence Agency

WILLIAM BROWNFIELD  
Department of State

DAVID EVERETT  
Central Intelligence Agency

LESLIE GERSON  
Department of State

FREDERICK BARTON  
Agency for International  
Development

MARGUERITE HOUZE  
Department of State

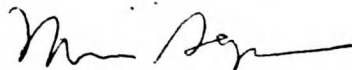
LESLIE DAVIDSON  
Office of the Vice President

BERND MCCONNELL  
Office of the Secretary of  
Defense

JAMES SCHEAR  
Office of the Secretary of  
Defense

SUBJECT: Kosovo ExComm Meeting

There will be a Kosovo ExComm meeting on Tuesday, February 9, 1999, from 10:00 to 11:30 a.m., in room 208 of the Old Executive Office Building, (in lieu of a morning SVTS). An agenda is attached.



Miriam Sapiro  
Acting, Special Assistant to the President for  
the Implementation of Dayton Accords

Attachment

AGENDA FOR KOSOVO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING  
February 9, 1999

- I. Update on Talks . . . . . State
- II. Exit Strategy and Benchmarks . . . . . All
- III. Points for Congressional Consultations . . . . . All

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

February 11, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR

JAMES PARDEW  
Department of State

GEORGE CASEY  
Joint Chiefs of Staff

ROBERT BEECROFT  
Department of State

CAMERON LEUTHY  
Office of Management and  
Budget

ALAN ROMBERG  
Department of State

MARK MILLER  
Central Intelligence Agency

WILLIAM BROWNFIELD  
Department of State

DAVID EVERETT  
Central Intelligence Agency

LESLIE GERSON  
Department of State

ROBERT MCCARTHY  
USIA

MARGUERITE HOUZE  
Department of State

FREDERICK BARTON  
Agency for International  
Development

BERND MCCONNELL  
Office of the Secretary of  
Defense

LESLIE DAVIDSON  
Office of the Vice President

JAMES SCHEAR  
Office of the Secretary of  
Defense

SUBJECT: Kosovo ExComm Meeting

There will be a Kosovo ExComm meeting on Friday, February 12, 1999, from 11:00 a.m. to 12:30 p.m., in room 208 of the Old Executive Office Building. An agenda is attached.



Miriam Sapiro  
Acting, Special Assistant to the President for  
the Implementation of Dayton Accords

Attachment

AGENDA FOR KOSOVO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING  
February 11, 1999

- I. Update. . . . . All
- II. OSCE Strategy . . . . . .All
- III. Building Public Security. . . . . .All

February 18, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR

JAMES PARDEW  
Department of State

MARK MILLER  
Central Intelligence Agency

BERND MCCONNELL  
Office of the Secretary of  
Defense

LESLIE DAVIDSON  
Office of the Vice President

GEORGE CASEY  
Joint Chiefs of Staff

SUBJECT: Small Group Meeting on Kosovo

There will be a Small Group meeting on Friday, February 19, 1999 from 11:00 a.m. to 12:30 p.m., in room 208 of the Old Executive Office Building. An agenda is attached.

Miriam Sapiro  
Acting, Special Assistant to the President for  
the Implementation of Dayton Accords

Attachment

TO: DOLE, ROBERT

FROM: PRESIDENT

DOC DATE: 11 FEB 99  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: YUGOSLAVIA  
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

HUMAN RIGHTS



PERSONS: IZETBEGOVIC, ALIJA

SUBJECT: RESPONSE TO DOLE RE INTL COMMIS ON MISSING PERSONS

ACTION: FOR DISPATCH

DUE DATE: 26 JAN 99 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: SCHULTE

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION  
WH STRIPPING DESK

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO  
HURLEY  
NSC CHRON  
SCHULTE

COMMENTS: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

DISPATCHED BY ER DATE 2/15 BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSDMK CLOSED BY: NSTSM DOC 4 OF 4

UNCLASSIFIED  
ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9900221

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 SCHULTE	Z	99011413	PREPARE MEMO FOR BERGER
002 BERGER	Z	99020213	FWD TO PRESIDENT FOR SIGNATURE
002 STEIN, L	Z	99020421	FOR SIGNATURE
003 PRESIDENT	Z	99020917	FOR SIGNATURE
003 EXECSEC	Z	99021023	FOR FURTHER ACTION
003 PRESIDENT	Z	99021023	FOR SIGNATURE
004	X	99021511	PRESIDENT SGD LTR
004 WH STRIPPING DESK	X	99021511	FOR DISPATCH

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE DISPATCH FOR ACTION

DISPATCH FOR INFO

003	990209		VICE PRESIDENT
003	990209		WH CHIEF OF STAFF
004	990211	DOLE, ROBERT	
004	990211	WH STRIPPING DESK	

UNCLASSIFIED

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: DOLE, ROBERT

DOC DATE: 14 DEC 98  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: YUGOSLAVIA HUMAN RIGHTS  
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

PERSONS: IZETBEGOVIC, ALIJA

SUBJECT: REPORTS ON MISSION AS CHAIRMAN OF INTL COMMIS ON MISSING PERSONS  
IN FMR YUGOSLAVIA

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ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR BERGER DUE DATE: 26 JAN 99 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: SCHULTE LOGREF:

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FILES: PA NSCP: CODES:

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D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION  
SCHULTE

FOR CONCURRENCE  
BUSBY  
NAPLAN

FOR INFO  
BAKER  
BANDLER  
CLARKE  
SCHWARTZ

COMMENTS: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

DISPATCHED BY \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSDMK CLOSED BY: DOC 1 OF 1

National Security Council  
The White House

PROOFED BY: \_\_\_\_\_ LOG # 0221  
 URGENT NOT PROOFED: \_\_\_\_\_ SYSTEM PRS NSC INT ARS  
 BYPASSED WW DESK: \_\_\_\_\_ DOCLOG TK A/O \_\_\_\_\_

TMA

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
Cosgriff			
Rice	<u>1</u>	<u>(R) 2/1</u>	<del>Info</del> <u>done</u>
Davies			
Kerrick	<u>2</u>	<u>(C) 2/2</u>	<u>done</u>
Steinberg	<del>3</del> <u>3</u>	<u>JS/NH</u>	<del>Info</del>
Berger	<del>4</del> <u>4</u>		
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	<u>5</u>	<u>2/4 out</u>	<u>J. Taylor</u>
Records Mgt.			

A = Action I  
 Further Action

cc: INCOM.

(Should come back to

COMMENTS: SRB)

Rps

Exec Sec Office h:

National Security Council  
The White House

PROOFED BY: \_\_\_\_\_ LOG # 0221  
 URGENT NOT PROOFED: \_\_\_\_\_ SYSTEM PRS NSC INT ARS  
 BYPASSED WW DESK: \_\_\_\_\_ DOCLOG B A/O \_\_\_\_\_

TMA

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
Cosgriff			
Rice	<u>1</u>	<u>(R) 2/12</u>	
Davies			
Kerrick			
Steinberg			
Berger			
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	<u>2</u>	<u>(R) 2/12</u>	<u>D</u>
Records Mgt.	<u>3</u>	<u>(R) 2/15</u>	<u>D</u>

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No Further Action

cc:

COMMENTS: DATE 2/11/98

99 FEB 12 04 36

#288156

Exec Sec Office has diskette \_\_\_\_\_

Swindle  
 FEB 17 1998

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 11, 1999

Dear Senator Dole:

Thank you for your letter describing your recent trip to the former Yugoslavia and the progress the International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP) has made over the past year under your Chairmanship. I deeply appreciate your extraordinary personal commitment of time and energy to the vital cause of advancing the healing process in the Balkans.

Overcoming lingering animosity through encouraging inter-ethnic cooperation is, as you point out, essential to establishing a lasting peace in the region. I am particularly heartened by your assessment of the progress made toward building confidence among the three ethnic groups. That the Bosniaks, Bosnian Serbs, and Bosnian Croats are now regularly and constructively talking to each other on critical missing persons issues, is, in large part, attributable to the tireless efforts of the ICMP. That progress can serve as a foundation for even greater cooperation on other challenging issues in the months ahead.

Clearly, obtaining a full accounting of the status of detainees is a sensitive and emotional issue for the people of the region, and its resolution should continue to be a high priority. Your recent positive conversations on this matter with the political leaders of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia should help significantly to unlock the impasse. I believe that your approach of having each government simultaneously and without pre-condition release information on a specific number of detainees provides a blueprint for significant progress on this contentious issue.

Finally, as you are aware, the State Department recently approved a contribution of \$2 million to the ICMP, allowing it to carry on its fine and much needed work.

The new spirit of cooperation that your personal efforts have helped foster is central to our objectives in the Balkans. I am deeply grateful for all that you have done to promote peace in that region.

Sincerely,

*Bill Clinton*

The Honorable Bob Dole  
901 15<sup>th</sup> Street, N.W., Suite 410  
Washington, D.C. 20005

MEMORANDUM FOR: WH STRIPPING DESK

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION: TO: DOLE, ROBERT  
SOURCE: PRESIDENT  
DATE: 11 FEB 99  
SUBJ: RESPONSE TO DOLE RE INTL COMMIS ON MISSING PERSONS

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REQUIRED ACTION: FOR DISPATCH

DUE DATE: 16 FEB 99

COMMENT:

FOR



JOHN W. FICKLIN

NSC RECORDS MANAGEMENT OFFICE

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
DISTRIBUTION RECEIPT

LOG 9900221  
DATE 11 FEB 99

SUBJECT: RESPONSE TO DOLE RE INTL COMMIS ON MISSING PERSONS  
DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION: UNCLASSIFIED

EXTERNAL DISTRIBUTION:

DATE

TIME

SIGNATURE

WH STRIPPING DESK

\_\_\_\_\_

PRINT LAST NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

COPY: ORIGINAL

DATE, TIME, SIGN THE RECEIPT AND RETURN TO: NSC RECORDS MGNT, ROOM 379 OEOB  
PAGE 01 OF 01 PAGES

2-11-99

0221

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

99 FEB 10 PM 10:51

February 9, 1999

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER  
LARRY STEIN

SUBJECT: Response to Senator Bob Dole's Report on Mission  
as Chairman of International Commission on  
Missing Persons (ICMP) in the Former Yugoslavia

Purpose

Respond to Senator Dole's report on the ICMP and his recent trip to the former Yugoslavia.

Background

Senator Bob Dole writes to recount his recent trip to the former Yugoslavia and report on his chairmanship of the International Commission on Missing Persons during the past year. Senator Dole assesses that inter-ethnic cooperation on missing persons' issues is increasing, although many detainees remain unaccounted for. He underscores the importance of a \$2 million U.S. contribution to help support the work of the ICMP.

Your reply recognizes the importance of encouraging inter-ethnic cooperation in establishing a lasting peace in the Balkans and praises the fine work of the ICMP. It advises that the State Department recently approved the requested \$2 million contribution to allow the ICMP to carry on its work. Your letter also expresses your appreciation for the Senator's commitment to this important endeavor.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Senator Dole  
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

cc: Vice President  
Chief of Staff

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

February 1, 1999

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: GREG SCHULTE *GS*  
FROM: MICHAEL HURLEY *MH*  
SUBJECT: POTUS Reply to Senator Bob Dole's Report on  
Progress of the International Commission on  
Missing Persons (ICMP)

Attached at Tab A is a draft Presidential reply to a letter from Senator Bob Dole that recounts progress the ICMP has made in the former Yugoslavia during the past year under the Senator's chairmanship.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the draft Presidential response and sign the memorandum to the President at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memo to the President  
Tab A Letter to Senator Dole  
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

*cleared by Miles Lackey.*

**SENATOR BOB DOLE**  
901 15TH STREET, N.W.  
SUITE 410  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

December 14, 1998

Phil -  
This came in as a report. Shouldn't we send it to NSC for stg ing?  
Yes   
No   
Alternatively, should we put in system & put in info pack? Yes   
No

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President,

This week I returned from my third mission to the former Yugoslavia as Chairman of the International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP). I am pleased to report that my visit concludes a successful year for ICMP supported activities.

When I accepted this appointment one year ago, there was minimal movement toward the resolution of missing persons issue essential to reconciliation. The Vukovar Protocols had not been released by Belgrade and the Flash and Storm Protocols had not been released by Zagreb. This year, these protocols were handed over to the respective authorities in Croatia and Yugoslavia.

Also, when I first visited Bosnia as ICMP Chairman in January, there was minimal movement forward in the area of inter-entity exhumations in Bosnia. Bosniak, Bosnian Serb and Bosnian Croat representatives often refused to meet in the same room, let alone work together on territory controlled by another ethnic group. Following this third trip, I am pleased to report that there has been dramatic progress with respect to the exhumation process in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This year, the inter-entity exhumation process (which is funded by ICMP) accounted for the exhumations of over 1700 remains. This is more than three times the number exhumed in the prior two years combined. Plans are already being made for the next exhumations season.

Of course, the large number of remains creates a new challenge, namely that of identification. In that regard, the ICMP is funding two storage and identification facilities in Tuzla and Banja Luka which should be completed by the beginning of the next exhumations season. Also, the ICMP has just completed an assessment of DNA facilities and needs not only in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but Croatia and Serbia, as well. This assessment includes recommendations for new projects and facilities, which will be funded by the ICMP.

There is still one area in desperate need of forward movement and that is the issue of detainees unaccounted for -- in other words, those individuals who were known to be detained under a clear command structure at one point in time, but have now disappeared. I pressed President Izetbegovic on this matter and all other relevant Bosnian authorities


with whom I met. While I do not yet have concrete results, I received pledges anew to release all relevant information. In a joint meeting with Haris Silajdzic, Jadranko Prlic and newly appointed Tiomir Gligoric I witnessed a new spirit of cooperation. There seems to be a genuine willingness among the Bosniaks, Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats to continue to work together and expand the success achieved in the exhumation process. I will propose to the three sides that each release information on any five detainees unaccounted for -- simultaneously and without precondition. It is my hope that this proposal, if implemented, will provide the necessary momentum to make progress on this matter.

Unfortunately, due to poor weather conditions I was unable to travel to Zagreb to present a new, sophisticated x-ray machine to the forensic facility there. I had hoped to take that opportunity to press the head of the missing persons commission in Croatia to include the participation of Serb citizens of Croatia in its planning and activities. Nevertheless, I have written the Foreign Minister of Croatia to raise concerns about the lack of Serb involvement in the exhumations process, in particular. Also, the ICMP is planning to fund forensic projects in Belgrade.

Finally, following my meetings in Sarajevo, I chaired a meeting of the entire commission which now includes Susanna Agnelli, Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, and Michael Portillo. There was a consensus reached that the commission would work to expand the sources of donor funding, given the increasing pace of activities for the coming year and for the purpose of developing a follow-on missing persons institute in the region that will eventually assume the functions of the international organizations such as the ICMP and the International Committee of the Red Cross. It is my hope that the United States will once again provide a \$2 million contribution for activities in 1999. That contribution can be used to leverage assistance from other countries. In that regard, I have written to the Secretary of State requesting a renewed contribution and urging that the missing persons issue be raised at the upcoming donors conference on Dayton implementation. The international and inter-entity cooperation we have achieved in Bosnia -- especially in the exhumation process -- could serve as a model for other implementation efforts. Moreover, I believe the United States can be proud of its record in support of the resolution of the missing persons issues which are essential to the achievement of reconciliation and a lasting peace in the region.

Please let me know if you would like to discuss any of these matters. Thank you for your continued support and interest. US leadership has been essential to the success we have achieved through the International Commission on Missing Persons.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Bob Dole', written in a cursive style.

BOB DOLE

THE WHITE HOUSE  
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: DECEMBER 22, 1998

99 JAN 7 AM 11:34

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE BOB DOLE

SUBJECT: REPORTS ON HIS THIRD MISSION TO THE FORMER  
YUGOSLAVIA AS CHAIRMAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL  
COMMISSION ON MISSING PERSONS (ICMP)

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION		
		ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C D	COMPLETED YY/MM/DD
TIM SAUNDERS		ORG	98/12/22		C	99/1/16
<i>Phil Caplan</i>	REFERRAL NOTE:	<i>A</i>	<i>99/1/16</i>			<i>1/1</i>
	REFERRAL NOTE:					
	REFERRAL NOTE:					
	REFERRAL NOTE:					
	REFERRAL NOTE:					

COMMENTS: *Not for the President's Xmittal to the Congress*

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: \_\_\_\_\_

MI MAIL USER CODES: (A) \_\_\_\_\_ (B) \_\_\_\_\_ (C) \_\_\_\_\_

- ```

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*ACTION CODES:          *DISPOSITION          *OUTGOING          *
*                       *                       *CORRESPONDENCE:  *
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION  *A-ANSWERED          *TYPE RESP=INITIALS *
*C-COMMENT/RECOM       *B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL *           OF SIGNER *
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE      *C-COMPLETED        *           CODE = A   *
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET  *S-SUSPENDED        *COMPLETED = DATE OF *
*I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC*                       *           OUTGOING  *
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY *                       *                       *
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE       *                       *                       *
*X-INTERIM REPLY       *                       *                       *
*****

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REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE  
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT-2590  
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING  
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS  
MANAGEMENT.

*S*

0221

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Dole:

Thank you for your letter describing your recent trip to the former Yugoslavia and progress the International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP) has made over the past year under your Chairmanship. I deeply appreciate your extraordinary personal commitment of time and energy to the vital cause of advancing the healing process in the Balkans.

Overcoming lingering animosity through encouraging inter-ethnic cooperation is, as you point out, essential to establishing a lasting peace in the region. I am particularly heartened by your assessment of the ~~dramatic progress~~ made toward building confidence among the three ethnic groups. That the Bosniaks, Bosnian Serbs, and Bosnian Croats are now regularly and constructively talking to each other on critical missing persons' issues, is, in large part, attributable to the tireless efforts of the ICMP. That progress ~~will~~ serve as a foundation for even greater cooperation on other challenging issues in the months ahead.

Car

Clearly, obtaining a full accounting of the status of detainees is a sensitive and emotional issue for the people of the region, and its resolution should continue to be a high priority. Your recent positive conversations on this matter with the political leaders of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia should help significantly to unlock the impasse. I believe that your approach of having each government simultaneously and without pre-condition release information on a specific number of detainees provides a blueprint for significant progress on this contentious issue.

Finally, as you are aware, the State Department recently approved a contribution of \$2 million to the ICMP, allowing it to carry on its fine and much needed work.

0221

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Dole:

Thank you for <sup>your</sup> ~~the~~ letter describing your recent trip to the former Yugoslavia and progress the International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP) has made over the past year under your Chairmanship. I deeply appreciate your extraordinary personal commitment of time and energy to the vital cause of advancing the healing process in the Balkans.

Overcoming lingering animosity through encouraging inter-ethnic cooperation is, as you point out, essential to establishing a lasting peace in the region. I am particularly heartened by your assessment of the dramatic progress made toward building confidence among the three ethnic groups. That the Bosniaks, Bosnian Serbs, and Bosnian Croats are now regularly and constructively talking to each other on critical missing persons' issues, is, in large part, attributable to the tireless efforts of the ICMP. That progress will serve as a foundation for even greater cooperation on other challenging issues in the months ahead.

Clearly, obtaining a full accounting of the status of detainees is a sensitive and emotional issue for the people of the region, and its resolution should continue to be a high priority. Your recent positive conversations on this <sup>matter</sup> ~~issue~~ with the political leaders of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia should <sup>help significantly</sup> ~~go far~~ to unlocking the impasse. I believe that your approach of having each government simultaneously and without pre-condition release information on a specific number of detainees provides a blueprint for significant progress on this contentious issue.

Finally, as you are aware, the State Department recently approved a contribution of \$2 million to the ICMP, allowing it to carry on its fine and much needed work.

**Bartlett, L. June**

---

**From:** Burrell, Christina L.  
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 02, 1999 1:20 PM  
**To:** Hasman, Thomas M.; @CROSS - Cross Hatches  
**Cc:** @BOSNIA - Bosnian Affairs; @LEGISLAT - Legislative Affairs  
**Subject:** RE: Request Concurrence on Package 0221 - POTUS Reply to Senator Dole [UNCLASSIFIED]

Miles Lackey concurs.

-----Original Message-----

**From:** Hasman, Thomas M.  
**Sent:** Monday, February 01, 1999 9:25 PM  
**To:** @LEGISLAT - Legislative Affairs  
**Cc:** @CROSS - Cross Hatches; @BOSNIA - Bosnian Affairs  
**Subject:** Request Concurrence on Package 0221 - POTUS Reply to Senator Dole [UNCLASSIFIED]

Legislative,

A copy of this package is being sent to you for concurrence. Please concur via e-mail to @cross. Thank you.

@cross - Package is in hold bin.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

February 6, 1999

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: MIRIAM SAPIRO *ms*

FROM: MICHAEL HURLEY *cmh*

SUBJECT: Presidential Reply to Letter from Representative  
Traficant Concerning the Situation in Kosovo

Attached at Tab A is a draft Presidential reply to a letter from Representative James Traficant concerning the situation in Kosovo.

Concurrence by: Mark Tavlarides *cmh*

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the draft reply at Tab A and sign the memorandum to the President at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum for the President  
Tab A Letter to Representative Traficant  
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER  
LARRY STEINSUBJECT: Response to Representative Traficant's Letter  
Concerning the Situation in KosovoPurpose

Respond to a letter from Representative Traficant on the situation in Kosovo.

Background

Representative James Traficant's letter to you warns that Slobodan Milosevic should not be trusted. He argues that Belgrade's brutal repression of Kosovo, as evidenced by the recent Racak massacre, supports the conclusion that the only answer to the conflict is independence for Kosovo. He calls for the Administration to review its policy on independence and includes a 1986 report that provides a historical perspective on the conflict.

Your response summarizes the steps that led to the Rambouillet peace conference and describes the draft interim political agreement which will provide Kosovo substantial autonomy and control over the institutions that most affect daily life. It also explains why we do not support independence for Kosovo, which would undermine our broader regional goals.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to Representative Traficant at Tab A.

## Attachments

Tab A Letter to Representative Traficant  
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

cc: Vice President  
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Jim:

Thank you for your letter and observations on the situation in Kosovo.

Last fall, NATO's credible threat of military action resulted in Belgrade's acceptance of a cease-fire and the presence of a 2,000 person international mission in Kosovo to verify compliance. Relief supplies flooded into Kosovo, the displaced found shelter and a humanitarian catastrophe was averted this winter. But Belgrade has continued to violate its commitments, including by maintaining a large army and police presence in Kosovo and reacting with disproportionate force to insurgent provocations. The recent Racak massacre is a tragic example of Belgrade's continuing disrespect for international law and human life and defiance of NATO and the international community.

In late January, the Contact Group endorsed the draft interim peace agreement that U.S. Envoy Christopher Hill has been negotiating with the Serbs and Kosovar Albanians since last spring. It called upon the parties to convene at a peace conference in France, which began on February 6. To back up the Contact Group, NATO, under U.S. leadership, issued an ultimatum to Belgrade, making clear that NATO would initiate air strikes if Belgrade's actions were responsible for failure to reach a settlement at the conference or if Belgrade fails to comply with its existing obligations. I can assure you that NATO is determined to enforce this ultimatum.

The interim political agreement under discussion at Rambouillet would provide substantial autonomy for Kosovo. Kosovars would elect a President and Assembly and have an independent judiciary. Moreover, they would have complete control over the institutions and issues that most affect their daily lives: police, schools and education, health care and culture. Upon entry into force, the agreement would sharply reduce the Serbian police presence in Kosovo and provide for their removal within one year. Yugoslav army forces would be reduced to the minimum number necessary to protect the FRY's international borders.

We continue to believe that supporting independence in Kosovo would adversely affect security in the region. Indeed, it carries with it substantial risks for regional stability and U.S. strategic interests in the Balkans. It could, for example, destabilize neighboring countries, including Bosnia. Moreover, it would not solve the Kosovo crisis. Under these circumstances, we believe that the most viable solution is to give the Kosovars democratic self-government and their own court system and police, initially under the supervision of the international community.

Given the animosity that the conflict has generated, it is likely that a NATO force will be necessary to implement the terms of the settlement. Such a force would only enter Kosovo with adequate guarantees from the parties of full cooperation in assuring the security of the force. If a strong agreement is achieved, we would expect our European allies to supply the majority of troops for any deployment to Kosovo. I am seriously considering consultations with the Congress whether to commit U.S. forces under these circumstances.

Promoting peace and stability in the Balkans has been a key objective of my Administration. I am proud that United States' efforts have been decisive in getting the Serbs and Kosovar Albanians to Rambouillet. It is now up to the parties whether to seize this opportunity for peace and work together to build a brighter future.

Thank you again for your thoughtful letter and interest in this important issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable James A. Traficant, Jr.  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

JAMES A. TRAFICANT, JR.  
17TH DISTRICT, OHIO

COMMITTEE:  
TRANSPORTATION AND  
INFRASTRUCTURE  
SUBCOMMITTEES:  
RANKING DEMOCRAT: PUBLIC BUILDINGS  
AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT  
AVIATION  
COMMITTEE:  
SCIENCE  
SUBCOMMITTEE:  
SPACE

0495

**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**  
Washington, DC 20515-3517

January 20, 1999

2446 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, DC 20515  
(202) 225-5261

125 MARKET STREET  
ROOM 311  
YOUNGSTOWN, OH 44503  
(330) 743-1914

5555 YOUNGSTOWN-WARREN ROAD  
SUITE 503  
NILES, OH 44446  
(330) 652-5649

109 WEST 3RD STREET  
EAST LIVERPOOL, OH 43920  
(330) 385-5921

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton  
President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton:

I am writing to respectfully urge your Administration to strongly endorse the right of the Albanians of Kosova to self-determination and independence from Serbia. Recent events in Kosova have underscored the sad reality that the only way to stop the brutal repression and genocide of the Albanian Kosovars is through the establishment of an independent Kosova.

The tragic situation in Kosova did not happen overnight. In fact, the oppression of the Albanian Kosovars has been going on for almost 20 years. I was deeply disturbed to learn that U.S. officials were warned as early as 1986 that the failure to secure independence for Kosova would result in genocide and repression. An unclassified 1986 U.S. intelligence report (enclosed) that was recently sent to me anonymously noted that:

"The continued systematic oppression of the predominantly Albanian population in Kosova by the Yugoslav government could lead to more serious instabilities. If left unchecked, it is projected that the oppression will surpass the use of tanks and troops, brute force, indiscriminate house arrests and torture employed by Yugoslav authorities to quell peaceful demonstrations in Kosova during the Spring of 1981; during that period thousands of ethnic Albanians were killed, wounded, imprisoned and buried secretly as Yugoslav authorities closed borders, declared martial law, expelled the international news media and continued the brutal roundup of Albanians. The lack of an appropriate response by Western governments has set the stage for an explosion in Kosova with unpredictable consequences. An in depth analysis of the KOSOVA situation clearly shows that the oppression of the Albanian people will end either (a) through the concerted action by the outside world aimed at pressuring Belgrade to grant the Albanians their republic or (b) by revolution."

This report raises some very disturbing questions. The Racak massacre and other atrocities committed by the Serbian government in Kosova are precisely the kinds of tragedies the 1986 report warned would occur if the United States did not work to achieve

(next page)

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton  
Page Two  
January 20, 1999

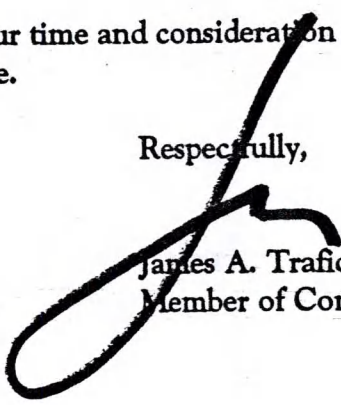
independence for Kosova. Why were these warnings ignored by successive Administrations, including yours?

Mr. President, the time for diplomacy has come and gone. Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic is a dangerous dictator who will stop at nothing to crush the Albanian Kosovars' dreams of self-determination. He is no Anwar Sadat. Milosevic cannot and should not be trusted!

Once again, I respectfully urge you to reassess your Administration's position on Kosova's status. It's time to stop almost 20 years of oppression and genocide. The only way to ensure self-determination and human rights for the Albanian Kosovars is through the establishment of an independent Kosova. America should lead the way.

Thank you for your time and consideration of this urgent matter. I look forward to your expeditious response.

Respectfully,



James A. Traficant, Jr.  
Member of Congress

JAT/pm

Enclosure

c: The Honorable Benjamin Gilman

In Reply, Please Refer to

✓ ELMS-KOSOVA

ELMS-NICARAGUA

-a-

To: [REDACTED]  
From: ELMS-KOSOVA  
Subject: KOSOVA REPUBLIC PROJECT

Date: August 20, 1986

Attached is a preliminary, working draft of Volume II, ELMS-SPO-KOSOVA, dated 9-1-86. Sections relating to AAC input, academic assessments, SPO proposals and budgets, AAC acknowledgements, etc. are under review and will be forwarded separately. Volume I should be completed in its preliminary form as scheduled.

It is the assessment of [REDACTED] that Volume II in its incomplete, preliminary form should serve as a catalyst to the AAC. We have learned that a [REDACTED] and this should be supportive of the Volume I tasks outlined.

Final Report, Volumes I and II are scheduled for April 1, 1988 as planned.

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

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-b-

Volume II does not contain information affecting the national defense of the United States within the meaning of the Espionage Laws, Title 18, U.S.C. Sec. 793 and 794. Its transmission or the revelation of its contents in any manner is not prohibited by law.

Volume II is not subject to special export controls. Transmittal to foreign governments or foreign nationals may be made without prior approval of [REDACTED].

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## FOREWORD

This report is a continuation of a systems strategy and assessment for providing the U.S. government and NATO allies with policy options in concert with organized non-government efforts for the purpose of ending the oppression of 3-million Albanians in South Yugoslavia and creating a new (Albanian) Republic of Kosova as a means of ensuring stability and sound economic development along the southern flank of NATO.

The ELMS-KOSOVA project is part of a broader reassessment of U.S. policy toward Yugoslavia following its role in providing refuge to confirmed terrorists such as Muhammad Abbas, mastermind of the Achille Lauro hijacking. (Reference [REDACTED] Directive [REDACTED] dated [REDACTED], for (a) centralizing information on state-sponsored terrorism and assassinations and (b) punishing governments which aid terrorists or sponsor terrorism.)

Volume I of this report is classified. Transmittal to foreign governments or foreign nationals may not be made without prior approval.

Volume II of this report is unclassified. The preliminary version dated Sept. 1, 1986, is a limited distribution, official use working draft structured to allow maximum feedback by government and non-government recipients such as select members of the American-Albanian community (AAC). It contains ELMS-SPO editorial comments and requests which require follow-up and refinement. This volume also offers American-Albanians guidance using non-government funds for rallying public support for their Kosova cause; their public efforts would buttress the official policy options and tasks detailed in Volume I.

The scheduled release of Volume II, Final Report, is April 1, 1988.

Review and approval for both volumes is scheduled for February 1988. Permission to reprint open literature materials prior to publication will be the responsibility of ELMS-SPO-KOSOVA. Volume II Final Report is projected to number 350 pages with a target distribution of 5000 copies.

Volume II of this preliminary report dated Sept. 1, 1986, was prepared without the expenditure of U.S. government funds. No direct charges were made to any U.S. government agency. No U.S. government office has approved Volume II, preliminary report.

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## KADDAFI ON YUGOSLAVIA AND ASSASSINATIONS

Excerpts from a speech by Yuri Shymko, Member of Ontario Provincial Parliament  
New York City, November 21, 1982

"Last year, the same journalist from Der Spiegel, Hans Peter Rullman, had an interview with Libyan President Kaddafi. He asked, 'Why is it that you, Mr. Kaddafi, are sending Libyan assassins throughout Europe to kill and assassinate people?' Do you know what Kaddafi replied? He said: 'Why are you asking me? If Tito's Yugoslav regime can send assassins to murder and kill, why can't I do the same? Have you ever blamed that regime?'"

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## I. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Albanian people occupy the southeastern part of Europe, numbering approximately 6-million, and are bordered by the part of the Mediterranean known as the Adriatic Sea to the west, Greece to the southeast, and the Yugoslav republics of Macedonia to the east, Serbia to the northeast, and Montenegro to the North.

The Albanians have their own language and scholars have traced their existence as a race of people to the Illyrians, who occupied the above lands before the existence of the Roman Empire. As such, they are not part of the Greek, Macedonian, Serbian or Montenegrin ethnic groups. By virtue of centuries of invasions by foreigners and their neighbors, the Albanian people have become accustomed to foreigners temporarily occupying their land. Their history is replete with racial hatred and oppression by occupation. The attempts to deny the existence of the Albanian people have been partially successful; they have been called "Turks, Muslims, Greek (Orthodox) and most Americans do not know where Albania is located nor have heard of KOSOVA, which today numbers 3-million Albanians.

The problem of KOSOVA has its roots for more than a century, but it began to surface in 1878 and 1912, when the Albanians made short-lived declarations of independence from foreign occupation. The Albanians drew up boundaries for their new State, much along ethnic borders for delineation to contain their race. The map on the inside front cover of this report shows part of their planned State.

A combination of factors during the early 1900s frustrated the Albanians from realizing their dream. The Balkan Wars, World War I, power politics, and the spoils of war permitted new borders to be drawn. The territory of the Albanian people was carved up and awarded to the Montenegrins, Serbians, Macedonians and Greeks. If it were not for the efforts of President Woodrow Wilson and Albanian nationalist Fan Noli, the existence of the Albanian race would have been denied. As such, part of the Illyrian land was saved for the Albanian people, leaving about half of the Albanians left to form their own State. In essence, at the close of World War I, the Albanians had their own East Germany-West Germany situation with the exception that the Albanians who were excluded from their own State were carved up among 4 ethnic groups who expanded the borders of their own countries at the expense of the Albanians.

To defeat Hitler during World War II, the United States and its allies supported the Communists in the Balkans. At the close of the war, a civil war erupted in the region pitting the more powerful Communists with allied-supplied weapons against anti-Communists. The Communists won, closing the borders of the State of Albania and asserting their will over the fate of the Albanians to the North in what was a loose federation of ethnic states.

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The Albanians of the North, known as Kosovars, found themselves to be part of the Socialist Federal Republic (SFR) of Yugoslavia. Whereas Montenegro and Macedonia had fewer ethnic nationals than the Albanians, both were made republics with self-governing powers. On the other hand, the government of Yugoslavia by design opted to deny the existence of the Albanians within their borders by incorporating their lands officially into the republics of Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia. In effect, the Albanians were stripped of political power and influence by dividing and conquering. Coupled with the racial hatred between the Slavs and the Albanians, who are not Slavs, as this report shows, the stage was set for an eruption in the region known as KOSOVA the Albanian lands occupied by Yugoslavia.

To curb smoldering Albanian nationalism, part of the Albanian region occupied by Serbia was converted into what the Yugoslav government calls the "Autonomous Province of Kosova" or "Administrative Kosova", which still is under Serbian tutelage in Belgrade. Therefore, today the Albanian people are divided in Yugoslavia into 4 regions administratively speaking: Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro, and Administrative Kosova.

Because of the gross human rights violations committed against the Albanian people by the Slavic-controlled provincial and federal governments of Yugoslavia, documented in this report, the Albanians of the above regions, known as KOSOVA, demand their own republic -- a new republic to become part of the federation as a means of having more control over their own lives and ending the oppression.

The Yugoslav government has refused to consider republic status for KOSOVA and has replied in kind with the worst oppression and human rights violations among other countries in the world.

In conclusion, the stage is set for a new eruption which could lead to a revolution unless the outside world exerts pressure on Belgrade to negotiate with the Albanians of KOSOVA. These developments affect U.S. and NATO security interests.

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It is the recommendation of this report that diplomatic, economic and legal international measures in concert with unofficial private efforts initiated by the Western and Third Worlds, including Muslim States, on a post-haste basis to pressure the Yugoslav government to (a) grant fundamental human rights for the Albanians of Yugoslavia and (b) create an (Albanian) Republic of Kosova, to include those regions that are predominately Albanian within the Yugoslav federation of republics to satisfy the just demands of the Albanian nationalist movement.

The above measures would (a) give 3-million Albanians equal status with Yugoslavia's other ethnic groups such as Macedonians and Montenegrins who in fact have less people in Yugoslavia than the number of Albanians according to official Yugoslav census figures and (b) set the stage for real economic development along the southern flank of NATO within the framework of a more just and stable society.

The creation of an (Albanian) Republic of Kosova would serve U.S. and NATO security interests given the Albanian propensity for absolute independence and hatred of the Soviet Union. Years of oppression by Slavic nationalism have left deep scars on Albanians who would rather remain independent than align themselves with Moscow or Belgrade.

In light of international developments, KOSOVA, meaning the Albanian regions occupied by Yugoslavia and not limited to what is known as Administrative Kosova, offers the Executive Branch of the U.S. government the opportunity to dramatically display to the world that the United States is not the enemy of the Muslim World. This can be achieved if the Executive Branch reverses its present policy and addresses the Kosova problem publicly. This would be supportive of the policy options and tasks detailed in Volume I.

This report also outlines the first published strategy and options that individuals in the West can undertake to buttress organized and private efforts to help end the oppression in Yugoslavia. It enables the Executive Branch to maintain its present public posture while lending private support to Albanian nationalists, if the decision is made to nudge Yugoslavia via private diplomacy first.

The KOSOVA situation can be used as a pilot project to show other ethnic nationalists that it is possible to rally uninterested but decent human beings for the purpose of destroying the architects of oppression and terror, even when it is state-sponsored and occurs in relatively unknown regions of the world. This policy would be supportive of the President's National Security Directive on terrorism. The KOSOVA project would bridge the "public relations" problem encountered by the Executive Office in enlisting the support of moderate Muslim States for combatting terrorism; though Catholic, Orthodox and Muslim Albanians are the victims of Yugoslav oppression, there are regions of KOSOVA that are 95 per cent Muslim-Albanians.

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I-5

ELMS-SPO-KOSOV  
VOL. II 9-1-8  
PRELIMINARY

To protect U.S. and NATO security interests in the Balkans, it is desirable to set in motion the machinery for liberating the 3-million Albanians of Yugoslavia by creating a new (Albanian) Republic of KOSOVA. The Albanians can be used as the vehicle for achieving this objective. The methods proposed in this report are structured to support peaceful negotiations, if Belgrade elects to go this route. Otherwise, if the oppression increases and the Albanians of Yugoslavia elect to undertake a course of action other than the past, the machinery can support this movement.

The architects of the oppression of the Albanian people in Yugoslavia are on a course that will lead to the destruction of the Socialist Federal Republic (SFR) of Yugoslavia. An in depth analysis of the KOSOVA situation clearly shows that the oppression of the Albanian people will end either (a) through concerted action by the outside world aimed at pressuring Belgrade to grant the Albanians their republic or (b) by revolution.

As documented in this report, the Yugoslav government, has shown little interest in dealing with the Albanian demands other than increasing the level of violence and oppression. Promises have not been kept, deceit and manipulation have been used by Belgrade to buy time while Albanians are rounded up in the evenings, jailed, tortured, and murdered, and disdain for Western public opinion and news gathering agencies is reflected by periodic expulsion of the news media whenever the degree of violence is exposed.

A review of the KOSOVA situation shows that the process of documenting human rights violations has not had the desired impact on Yugoslavia during the past two decades as originally intended. Though the violations must be documented, and this work is important, official and other reports emanating from Yugoslav prisons show that political prisoners are being tortured and killed by mocking prison officials who believe the extent of the Albanian human rights movement is limited to intellectuals who document abuses on sheets of paper that are read and thrown away or filed.

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I-6

ELMS-SI  
VOL. I:  
PREL

Accordingly, a non-government [REDACTED] has been created for the purpose of coordinating a movement in the United States to support the liberation of Albanians in KOSOVA. [REDACTED] will be terminated only after the Albanians of KOSOVA achieve republic status. Coordination will be from several locations in the United States. American citizens of Albanian descent with past records of defending human rights and having an appreciation for freedoms of speech, press and religion will be used to interface by the [REDACTED] with both the U.S. government and the American-Albanian Community (AAC).

In anticipation of a new crackdown on political dissidents in KOSOVA, the [REDACTED] recommends that "KOSOVA REPUBLIC 2000" be incorporated into a logo for the KOSOVA project to signal Yugoslav authorities that this will be a long, arduous, irreversible public struggle for liberation, to the year 2000 if necessary. The brutal oppression of Albanians in Yugoslavia during the past century clearly shows that nothing short of republic status should be attained, regardless of promises made in the future by the Yugoslav authorities, who have a track record of making new promises to buy time for future crackdowns.

In the sections that follow, the [REDACTED] has listed tasks that must be implemented immediately to cover phase I operations. Since the projects listed involve lobbying Washington and Capitol Hill, no U.S. government funds can be used for the [REDACTED] Phase I program. This means that American-Albanians, religious institutions and other individuals and groups will be asked to cover expenses for the [REDACTED]. The projected costs for Phase I is broken down in later sections of this report.

The [REDACTED] Phase I operations can be categorized as follows:

1. Organization of Office and Staff
2. Development of a KOSOVA [REDACTED]
3. Strategy and Coordination Center
4. Public Relations and Lobbying

Among the preliminary ideas being evaluated by official reviewers are the following:

Coordination of Human Rights Demonstrations in America

The [REDACTED] believes that the American-Albanian community should undertake an aggressive human rights campaign featuring legal demonstrations before the Yugoslav embassy in Washington, its Mission to the United Nations, its consulates in North America, and all functions in North America sponsored directly or indirectly by the Yugoslav government; no official Yugoslav function should be left uncovered by legal protestors who can distribute literature documenting human rights violations in Yugoslavia, and more importantly, what North Americans can do about it. A special section in this report contains the names of U.S. police organizations and official offices which can help ensure that the protestors will abide by the law. In most instances, as was the case in Washington, D.C., police officers will escort the protestors and hold up traffic. This is important when children join the demonstration to protest the abuse of Albanian children in Yugoslavia.

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With the [redacted] coordinating the general direction of each demonstration, its public relations office will handle press releases and the preparation of banners, posters and other support material needed to offer continuity of purpose and clarity of objectives. One of the [redacted] primary responsibilities is to encourage demonstrators to abide with local, county, state and federal law enforcement agencies, especially when it involves knowledge of illegal UDBA or other Yugoslav activities in the United States and Canada.

Under review is a plan to organize protestors at all of the major international airports which serve the official Yugoslav airlines, JAT. The objective would be to carry signs documenting human rights abuses and to suggest to travelers that they not visit Yugoslavia, nor fly its state-owned airline company. A list of airline companies that fly to Yugoslavia should be updated monthly, including flight schedules, so that their passengers can also be notified.

Under review is a plan to give airline passengers traveling to Yugoslavia a condensed report on human rights abuses for reading literature across the Atlantic Ocean, with the stern warning that they can be arrested if they take this material into the country; it would serve as a reminder that freedom of speech does not exist in Yugoslavia. The condensed report should show examples of people jailed because they had in their possession an epic Albanian poem.

CALL FOR MAJOR DEMONSTRATION IN WASHINGTON ON FRIDAY, APRIL 1, 1988

During the last week in March 1988, the [redacted] recommends that American and Canadian-Albanians throughout North America organize massive human rights protests to demonstrate and commemorate the events of Spring 1981, when in KOSOVA the Yugoslav government used troops and tanks to crush a peaceful demonstration.

The first 6-days of "KOSOVA HUMAN RIGHTS WEEK" should be used to lobby Congress and local politicians, brief the press and media, and "prime the pump" for day seven, when all supporters of the KOSOVA Human Rights Movement converge on Washington. This should be the first of an annual event in North America, with marchers walking from Lafayette Park in front of the White House to Capitol Hill.

It is recommended that the American-Albanian community proceed with all existing plans, independent of the [redacted] recommendations, but to plan on holding the first major march on Washington on Friday, April 1, 1988. The [redacted] needs this time to organize the event properly and permit others to initiate the tasks detailed in Volume I.

The [redacted] strongly recommends that the American-Albanian community begin to organize its annual march on the United Nations for the purpose of greeting Yugoslav diplomats when the UN convenes in the Fall. This annual event, which would fall about one-half year after the Washington demonstrations, should be supported by simultaneous peaceful protests before all Yugoslav Consulates.

~~SECRET~~

(This page is Unclassified)

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(This page is Unclassified)

8

ECONOMIC BOYCOTT OF THE "YUGO CAR"

Preliminary information indicates that the YUGO CAR is built by workers who in some cases are paid 40¢ per hour in Yugoslavia. The YUGO CAR sells for approximately \$7000 in Yugoslavia, yet in the United States it is sold for \$3990. This is accomplished by granting Yugoslavia special consideration and subsidizing its economy via the international banking community. Yugoslavia is a debtor nation. Given its track record in the area of human rights, a strategy is under review which would get America's organized and independent auto workers in concert with the auto industry to launch a boycott of the YUGO CAR. The [redacted] recommends that the American-Albanian human rights demonstrations be used as the vehicle for the auto workers. The strategy to use is that it does not make sense to undercut the jobs of patriotic American auto workers by giving a Communist government which has among the worst human rights records in the world special privileges and subsidies.

CONGRESSIONAL ACTION PROPOSED

[redacted] recommends that Congress be lobbied using non-government funds to adopt sanctions aimed at ending the oppression of Albanians in Yugoslavia. The following should be imposed:

1. Ban the import of products produced in Yugoslavia (i.e., the "Yugo etc.).
2. Prohibit the sale of computers and other high-tech products to Yugoslavia, and authorize the President to impose a total trade embargo.
3. Terminate grant aid provided under the International Military Education and Training (IMET) Program.
4. End the U.S. landing rights for JAT, the official Yugoslav airline.
5. Direct the State Dept. to refuse visa applications for travel to the United States for Yugoslav government employees.
6. Give the President authority to ban travel to Yugoslavia.
7. Freeze U.S. bank accounts of Yugoslav government employees and state controlled companies; freeze U.S. investments in such companies.
8. Prohibit any new investment in Yugoslavia by any U.S. company.
9. Prohibit bank loans to Yugoslavia.
10. Punish foreign companies that move to take a competitive advantage of U.S. sanctions against Yugoslavia at the expense of American companies.

In addition to the above sanctions, Congress should launch an investigation into the activities of the Yugoslav secret police in North America vis-a-vis delegations that UDBA (a) threatens, harasses and intimidates Americans who cooperate with Congress, the Executive Branch and/or assemble peacefully in the United States to protest human rights violations in Yugoslavia, (b) organizes the assassinations of American citizens, (c) is involved with trafficking drugs to the United States, and (d) has organized a network of informers who, among many tasks, are responsible for observing and photographing American demonstrators in the United States so that they can be arrested in Yugoslavia if they ever travel to that country.

~~SECRET~~

(This page is Unclassified)

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(This page is Unclassified)

-9-

HIGH VISIBILITY POST CARD CAMPAIGN

█████ recommends an unprecedented high-visibility post card campaign be organized by the AAC and directed at the policymakers in Washington and another at Yugoslav authorities in the United States, Canada and Yugoslavia. This campaign is to be executed with increasing frequency in concert with demonstrations and other events planned until the oppression ends (i.e., republic status for KOSOVA).

LEGAL PICKETS AND EDUCATION CAMPAIGN

A non-government economic boycott and education campaign against purchasing the YUGO CAR and other major Yugoslav products and services exported to North America should be initiated at once, to be buttressed by legal pickets in front of those firms marketing these products. Reviews of the YUGO CAR are poor and these should be amplified to potential consumers.

IDENTIFICATION OF ALBANIANS ABUSED, TORTURED OR KILLED BY YUGOSLAVIA

█████ suggests that all Albanian prisoners of conscience<sup>t</sup> who have suffered in Yugoslav prisons or have been murdered or arrested without trace be identified by name, age, occupation, family and last known address. █████ proposes that after liberation (republic status or otherwise), a monument be erected in Prishtina, Kosova so that these nationals can be remembered. The AAC should review bids for the design of the monument -- design to parallel the concept behind the Vietnam Memorial in Washington -- with █████ contributing matching funds, subject to approval, for the purpose of presenting the monument as a present to the Albanians of Yugoslavia as a gift by American, Canadian and other freedom-loving citizens.

ACCOUNTABILITY FOR OPPRESSION OF ALBANIANS

█████ recommends that the identities of all persons responsible for committing crimes against Albanian political dissidents in Yugoslavia (Crimes Against Humanity), such as the tortures described in this report, be determined so that these individuals can be held accountable and brought to justice in the future.

The human rights campaign should send a clear message to Yugoslavia that persons committing crimes against humanity will be tracked down and brought to justice. To date, there has been no organized effort to hold accountable those Yugoslav officials who sanction crimes against Albanians. The lack of any form of reprisal, legal or otherwise, has contributed to a climate that Albanians are fair game for oppression in Yugoslavia. █████ strongly suggests that the campaign for restitution be personalized so that individual Yugoslav officials no longer feel immuned from reprisal.

~~SECRET~~

(This page is Unclassified)

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

February 4, 1999

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES STEINBERG

TROUGH: GREG SCHULTE *JS*

SUBJECT: Summary of Conclusions for Deputies Committee  
Meeting on Kosovo on January 26, 1999

The memorandum at Tab I summarizes the conclusions from the Deputies Committee meeting on Kosovo that you chaired on January 26.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the summary of conclusions at Tab A and authorize that it be distributed to agencies.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum for Signature  
Tab A Summary of Conclusions

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

MEMORANDUM FOR

MR. LEON FUERTH  
Assistant to the Vice  
President for National  
Security Affairs

MR. STEVEN RICCHETTI  
Deputy Chief of Staff to the  
President

MS. KRISTIE A. KENNEY  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

MS. VICKI M. HUPP  
Acting Executive Secretary  
Central Intelligence Agency

COL. JOSEPH REYNES, JR.  
Executive Secretary  
Department of Defense

COL. M. MANNING, USMC  
Secretary, Joint Staff

MS. AMBER BASKETTE  
Staff Assistant to the  
Representative of the U.S.  
to the United Nations

SUBJECT: Summary of Conclusions for Deputies Committee  
Meeting on Kosovo on January 26, 1999 ~~(S)~~

Attached at Tab A is the summary of conclusions for the Deputies  
Committee meeting on Kosovo on January 26, 1999. ~~(S)~~

Glyn T. Davies  
Executive Secretary

Attachment  
Tab A Summary of Conclusions

CONFIDENTIAL

Classified by: Glyn T. Davies  
Reason: 1.5 (a), (d)  
Declassify On: February 4, 2009

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By ROS NARA, Date 6/2/2009  
2009-0983-M

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                                                                                  | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 001. memo                | Summary of Conclusions for Meeting of the NSC Deputies<br>Committee, January 26, 1999. [Record ID: 9900535] [partial] (1 page) | 02/04/1999 | P3/b(3)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Kosovo Office (Schulte, Gregory)  
OA/Box Number: 1706

### FOLDER TITLE:

Chron Folder for February 1999 [1]

2008-0994-F

vz6268

### RESTRICTION CODES

#### Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

#### Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

Summary of Conclusions for  
Meeting of the NSC Deputies Committee

DATE: January 26, 1999  
LOCATION: Situation Room  
TIME: 3:00 - 4:30 p.m.

SUBJECT: Summary of Conclusions of Deputies Committee Meeting  
on Kosovo ~~(S)~~

PARTICIPANTS:

Chair:  
James Steinberg

JCS:  
Joseph Ralston  
George Casey  
Scott Fry

OVP:  
Leon Fuerth  
Leslie Davidson

USNATO:  
Alexander Vershbow (secure  
phone)  
Christopher Hill (secure voice)

State:  
Thomas Pickering  
Marc Grossman  
James O'Brien  
James Pardew

White House:  
Donald Kerrick

Defense:  
Walter Slocombe  
Joseph Kaufmann

NSC:  
Greg Schulte  
David Leavy  
Chuck Allen  
Michael Hurley  
Mark Tavlarides

USUN:  
Nancy Soderberg (via SVTS)  
Alan Romberg

CIA:  
John Gordon  
(b)(3)

Summary of Conclusions

It was agreed that:

- The United States can agree to a NATO warning to be issued prior to the Ministerial meeting of the Contact Group under

~~SECRET~~

Classified by: Glyn T. Davies  
Reason for: 1.5 (a), (d)  
Declassify on: February 4, 2009

**DECLASSIFIED**  
**PER E.O. 13526**  
2009-0985-M (4.09)  
RDS 8/24/2010

the understanding that the Contact Group meeting would be followed by an explicit NATO ultimatum backed by the re-activation of the Activation Orders for the Limited Air Response and Phase I of the Phased Air Campaign. (Action: State) ~~(S)~~

- Relevant agencies should prepare to make Congressional up-date calls prior to the NATO warning. (Action: NSC, State, DOD, CIA) ~~(S)~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

February 3, 1999

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH:

GREG SCHULTE *GS*

FROM:

MICHAEL HURLEY *mh*

SUBJECT:

President's Reply to Representative Bonior's  
Letter Urging NATO to Begin Air Strikes Against  
Serbian Targets

Attached at Tab A is a draft Presidential response to a letter from Representative David Bonior which urges that NATO initiate air strikes against Serb security force targets.

Concurrences by:

*cmh* Miles Lackey, *cmh* Joseph Bouchard

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the draft response and sign the memorandum to the President at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum for the President  
Tab A Letter to Representative Bonior  
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER  
LARRY STEIN

SUBJECT: President's Reply to Representative Bonior's  
Letter Urging Air Strikes Against Serbian Targets

Purpose

Respond to a letter from Representative Bonior who is urging airstrikes against Serbian targets.

Background

Representative David Bonior writes to condemn the recent Racak massacre of 45 ethnic Albanians and to call for NATO air strikes against Serb targets. He points out that Milosevic only responds to force.

Your reply recounts the recent Contact Group endorsement of the U.S.-backed draft political settlement for Kosovo and call for the parties to convene at a peace conference in France. It describes how the NATO ultimatum supports the Contact Group's initiative and makes clear that NATO is prepared to act if Belgrade does not comply.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to Representative Bonior at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Representative Bonior  
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

cc: Vice President  
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear David:

Thank you for your recent letter on events in Kosovo. I deeply appreciate your thoughts as we press forward in our efforts to resolve the conflict, end the suffering, and give the people of Kosovo the self-government they so very much deserve.

The Racak massacre of 45 ethnic Albanians is, as you rightly point out, yet one further example of the brutality of Slobodan Milosevic's policy of indiscriminate violence, a policy that has had such devastating consequences for Kosovo. The repressive Belgrade regime continues to be in breach of the agreements it concluded with NATO and the OSCE last October and in defiance of the international community and the rule of law. We are committed to holding those responsible for Racak and other atrocities accountable for their inhuman actions.

I agree with your assessment that Milosevic only understands the language of force. The step you recommend -- using NATO air strikes against Serb security force targets to compel compliance -- is closely allied with the approach we are implementing: the credible threat of force with the determination to use it in the absence of compliance.

On January 29, the Contact Group endorsed the U.S.-backed, draft political settlement and called on Belgrade and the Kosovar Albanians to participate in a peace conference to begin in France on February 6 and conclude by February 20. The following day, NATO issued an ultimatum to Belgrade, the terms of which make clear that NATO's Secretary General may authorize air strikes against Serb targets if Belgrade's conduct results in failure to reach agreement or Belgrade does not comply with its October commitments. We have made clear to Milosevic that NATO is poised to carry out the attacks.

The interim agreement will replace Serb interior police with local Kosovo police and dramatically limit the number of Yugoslav army forces garrisoned there. It provides Kosovars with full control over the institutions that most affect their daily lives: law enforcement, education, health and culture.

We are committed to ensuring that the killing in Kosovo stops. The upcoming peace conference offers an unequalled opportunity to end the conflict. It is up to both sides to grasp the opportunity. Again, thank you for your recommendations. In the coming days we will be consulting closely with Congress.

Sincerely,

The Honorable David E. Bonior  
Democratic Whip  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
ATTENTION: THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

AMERICAN DEFENSE NEWS SERVICE

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

PROBULET

LOGS

SECRET

SECRET

SECRET

SECRET

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: BONIOR, DAVID E

DOC DATE: 21 JAN 99  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: KOSOVO SERBIA  
NATO CO  
HUMAN RIGHTS

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: URGES POTUS TO BEGIN AIRSTRIKES AGAINST SERBIAN TARGETS RE KOSOVO

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR BERGER DUE DATE: 10 FEB 99 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: SCHULTE LOGREF:

FILES: PA NSCP: CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION  
SCHULTE

FOR CONCURRENCE  
HURLEY  
MCELDFOWNEY  
RUDMAN

FOR INFO  
BAKER  
BANDLER  
BLINKEN  
BOUCHARD  
SCHWARTZ

COMMENTS: IF FINAL REPLY CANNOT BE PREPARED BY DUE DATE, AN INTERIM RESPONSE  
MUST BE PREPARED FOR MARA RUDMAN'S SIGNATURE.

DISPATCHED BY \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSDMK CLOSED BY: DOC 1 OF 1

One Hundred Fifth Congress  
**U.S. House of Representatives**  
**Office of the Democratic Whip**

January 21, 1999

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The time is now to begin airstrikes against Serbian military and police targets. The recent massacre of ethnic Albanians in Kosova underscores the need for the United States to take swift and appropriate action to stop the bloodshed.

The brutal murder of at least 45 ethnic Albanians in Racak, Kosova — including three women, a 12-year-old child and several elderly men — is the most recent and vivid example of the Serbian military's ruthlessness.

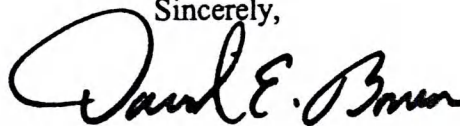
We have had many opportunities over the past few years to prevent innocent blood from being spilled in Kosova. Each time, those efforts have fallen short. Only when Slobodan Milosevic is faced with the use of force — as he was in Bosnia — does he respect the rights of others.

A NATO effort led by the United States to secure compliance from Milosevic is imperative. The atrocities must stop. The people of Kosova have a right to determine their own future. Their human rights must be respected. Led by the United States, NATO should begin airstrikes to compel Milosevic's compliance.

It is clear that Milosevic has not complied with the most recent agreement he made with Ambassador Richard Holbrooke in October. Instead of allowing international monitors into Kosova to visit sites of suspected atrocities, Milosevic has barred them. Instead of removing thousands of Serbian troops and police from Kosova, Milosevic has used them to kill ethnic Albanians.

When the United States began airstrikes in Bosnia, the killing of innocent civilians stopped. That is the path we must now take in Kosova.

Sincerely,



David E. Bonior  
Democratic Whip

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 28, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR GLYN T. DAVIES  
NSC Executive Secretariat

FROM: JANET MURGUIA  
Legislative Affairs

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

Attached are copies of letters sent to the President by various members of Congress. Since these letters address national security issues, we would appreciate your assistance in drafting the responses.

Thank you very much for your assistance. If you have any questions, please call Eli Joseph at x67500.

The following is a brief description of the letters:

- 1) Rep. David E. Bonior (D-MI), concerning the need for the United States to begin airstrikes against Serbian military and police targets;
- 2) Rep. Eliot L. Engel (D-NY) and twenty-three other Members of Congress, concerning the situation in Kosova and current U.S. policy toward the region; and,
- 3) Rep. Ernest J. Istook, Jr. (R-OK) and three other Members of Congress, concerning the grave circumstance of the domestic oil and gas industry, and its impact on our national security and energy independence.

Enclosures

JAN 28 15:29